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his peculiar genius has full scope. He is master both of himself and of the situation, and he has touched interests which will remain vital as long as English literature exists.

The new edition of his writings, now completed in eight volumes, introduced by Mr. Forster's Biography of Landor, and in fact Mr. Forster's own edition, though not completed at his death, is a welcome contribution to libraries and readers. No literary man who has high aims can afford to be ignorant of either Burke or Landor, and he who learns from both the secret of their perennial freshness and imparts it to his own thought, has made strong claim to a favorable hearing in the courts of literary judgment. These volumes, in paper, typography, binding, portraits, illustrations, notes, indexes, present Landor at his best; and the promise that the poetical rubbish which often became the vehicle of his wrath should be consigned to its proper place, has been fulfilled. If this splendid old pagan, Greek in culture, Greek in his tastes and associations, Roman in the sinewy vigor of his thought, English in the purity of his wonderful style, modern in the range of his ideas, and universal in the range of his genius, does not now become a greater literary force, in an age which has gradually approached his literary standard, it will not be the fault of the friends who watched over his declining years, or of the increasing number who are glad to acknowledge their indebtedness to him.

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3. — *The Life of John Locke.* By H. R. FOX BOURNE. In Two Volumes. New York : Harper and Brothers. 8vo. pp. 488, 574. 1876.

THE history of the human mind presents certain names — like those of Aristotle, Bacon, and Kant — which mark an epoch in the advancement of knowledge. One of these was Locke. The success of such thinkers depends not upon the deficiencies they supply or the difficulties they dispel, but upon the new vein of thought and the fresh resources they create for the development of coming ages. Such men become the lawgivers and founders of knowledge; their works become the corner-stones of future systems; and to those who would form a fair estimate of their genius an exact knowledge of the social and intellectual surroundings that matured them becomes indispensable. In the case of John Locke such a necessity is supplied in the present work.

Lord King's Life left much to be desired. The materials for a biography of the great philosopher, though comparatively scanty and disjointed, were not exhausted by his noble kinsman, and hardly connected in intelligible order. The splendid collection of family docu-

ments accumulated by the Earls of Shaftesbury afforded ample field for new inquiry, and it is among these papers especially that Mr. Fox Bourne has with untiring patience made his valuable researches. Besides, he has spared no pains in making diligent search after new matter in every corner of England and Holland, so that we have to thank him for several hitherto unpublished essays by Locke, as well as much that is fresh in the way of correspondence. In presenting this correspondence to the reader, the author has undertaken the task of following, step by step, the causes which combined to form the intellect that produced the "Essay concerning Human Understanding." It is difficult under any circumstances to trace the development of such an intellect, and the outward aspects and phases which contributed to its growth; but it is a task of uncommon difficulty to mark its progress in a man who outlived five turbulent and eventful régimes, and took an important part in at least two of them; and the materials for such a purpose are at certain periods unhappily deficient. Yet, however rambling these fragments may at times be, anything must be acceptable which can throw light on the mental history and education of the father of political economy, the most tolerant churchman and foremost metaphysician of his age.

Whoever has read Lord King's Life of Locke will find many familiar facts and letters in the present work. We have long known that John Locke was born in 1632; obtained in 1652 a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, where, amid the rivalry and confusion of sects, he was known for his catholicity and toleration; that he accompanied Sir Walter Vane on his embassy to Cleve; that he returned and studied medicine at Oxford; that he formed a lasting intimacy with Lord Ashley, at whose house he long resided; that he at one time talked of crossing to America; that he was suspected of treason, and fled to Holland, whence after six years he returned with William and Mary; that he was appointed commissioner of appeals, and spent the remaining fourteen years of his life at Oates with his friends Sir Francis and Lady Masham, where he died at the age of seventy-two, in 1704. But there are many events and features in Locke's life and character on which Mr. Fox Bourne has thrown new light; though we are often left to wish for more ample and comprehensive opinions from the author.

His warm domestic attachment and faithful devotion to his friend and patron Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, appear to have induced him to occupy a place which it would be hard to define, and in our time harder to comprehend. He seems to have been to the Shaftesbury family what the *particeps curarum* of Bacon was to the Princes of his time. He engrossed himself with the cares of his mas-

ter, and much more. He performed the offices of physician, nurse secretary, equerry, major-domo, *ami intime*, and tutor, to the young author of the "Characteristics," all with equal satisfaction to the Shaftesburys and himself. Indeed, some of his occupations at Exeter House were almost menial. We cannot conceal our mirth and astonishment when we look back to see Locke, the great philosopher, the author of the imperishable essay, running bareheaded by the side of Shaftesbury's coach on state occasions, or standing at the great man's elbow in Parliament, acting as remembrancer or prompter while my lord delivers a speech. But such were the times, and such were Locke's duties as secretary, secret adviser, and factotum to the Earl of Shaftesbury; so much so that Sunderland, in a letter preserved by Lord King, speaks of Locke as *belonging* to Shaftesbury. But with whatever acquiescence he may have performed these multifarious and sometimes degrading duties, there can be no doubt that he was looking and longing for a state of things in which his intellectual superiority would assert its own place.

On the origin of the celebrated essay there is a curious discrepancy between Lord King and Mr. Fox Bourne. The former believes that the idea of the treatise originated at a meeting of friends in Locke's rooms at Oxford; the latter is of opinion that the subject was first broached in Locke's apartment at Exeter House. However this may be, we know that the essay was not completed until eighteen years after its conception, when the copyright was sold for £ 30; six times as much as Milton received for *Paradise Lost*.

The conditions and surroundings that matured Locke are distinctly opposed to those which produce the great German thinkers. It is, indeed, especially when compared with the German school that Locke's genius appears most striking. Both have travelled on the long and difficult journey after truth. Both have reaped the gratitude of mankind. But their paths diverged. Locke found food for thought in the brilliant yet boisterous age which surrounded him at the courts of kings and the mansions of great noblemen, while the master minds of Germany seem to have been inspired only by the solitude of great universities and the silence of great libraries. Locke developed the "Essay concerning Human Understanding" in the excitement and turmoil of London life, amidst a marvellous variety of active pursuits. Kant evolved the "*Kritik der Reinen Vernunft*" in the solitudes of Königsberg. Kant devoted a life to his work, Locke a few leisure hours. Locke was the amateur, Kant the professional. Yet the amateur can scarce be mentioned with less gratitude or respect.

The long life of Locke covers a memorable space in the history of

England. His mind was developed at a period when every portion of English society was pregnant with insurrection. His intellect seems to have ripened slowly. We have many instances of this late maturity in men of his parts; but in the early development of his great predecessor, Descartes, we find a vivid contrast. Locke conceived his immortal essay at the age of forty-one, whereas Descartes had enunciated his *Cogito, ergo sum* which gave the death-blow to the *materia prima* of the school-men, before he was thirty-seven, and at his death was three years younger than Locke was when he published his essay. Perhaps the logical turn of Locke's mind may account for this. He was not an intuitional thinker. He attempts to support all his theories by logical premises. There is no evidence of a single intuitional thought. His inquisitive and scientific spirit seems to have tended to limit the intuitional faculty and embolden the understanding. On the other hand, the self-consciousness of the Frenchman, Descartes, indicates a lively intuition, which, whether produced by the outward aspects of his early surroundings or not, sometimes distances the understanding and brings out sufficiently absurd conclusions, — conclusions distinctly opposed to those obtained in later times by Kant and Fichte from Cartesian premises. The chapter on "The Essay," though very full and painstaking, leaves much to be desired. In a work of this bulk some space might have been devoted to the race of Iconoclasts, of which Locke was the precursor; and some account of the rival schools that overthrew sensationalism could not have failed to prove acceptable to the reader. On the influence of Cartesian and Pre-Cartesian assumptions the author is very full. Whatever fascination the alluring theories of Descartes may have had for Locke, he undoubtedly repudiated the doctrine of innate ideas from the first. It was his further investigation of these Cartesian assumptions which, with the aid of Hobbes and Gassendi, led him to a thorough examination of the field of consciousness and to the ingenious distinction "between the idea of the infinity of space and the idea of space infinite." Locke proposed to do for mind what Bacon had done for matter, — to explore the field of consciousness as Bacon had explored the field of nature. But, unhappily, he soon deviated from the Baconian method, and adopted as a fact of consciousness that which Dr. Reid and Sir William Hamilton have since clearly demonstrated never made its appearance in the consciousness of any man. Locke, in his desire to make psychology as much an inductive science as botany or mineralogy, has fallen into errors that must now appear sufficiently absurd. To declare that the mind of an infant is a *tabula rasa* and contributes nothing but passive receptivity in the attainment of a cognition, is to deny the possibility

of contact between mind and matter, which is contrary to fact, because, although we cannot understand how this is, we certainly know that it is. Bacon shook off every fetter that could bind him to Aristotelianism or Scholasticism; Locke never did. Had he adhered to his chosen method, there is no reason to doubt that Locke would have bestowed as much fame upon Oxford as Newton did upon the sister university. But the influence of the Alma Mater clung to Locke. Newton in his path never deviated from the Baconian method. Locke's mind was less carefully philosophical than Newton's, and it was this lack of care which led him to adopt the Aristotelian doctrine. Anybody who knows how thoroughly Oxford students are even now drilled in the philosophy of Aristotle will cease to wonder that Locke took for granted the existence of ideas without searching his own consciousness for them. Newton, though sure of his discoveries, waited many years for a measurement of the earth's diameter which supplied him with a datum that established the validity of his theory. He could then show without doubt that the same force which drew the apple to the ground deflects the moon in her orbit; while, on the contrary, Locke without waiting for any similar verification accepted a theory which has since been generally abandoned. Locke's theories on mental philosophy must always be considered the fountain from which most metaphysicians who came after him drew their matter. He undoubtedly made strong efforts to clear away the rubbish which had for ages enveloped his department of science; and his successors, be they sensualists, materialists, idealists, or sceptics, should be grateful even for his errors.

It has long been a disputed question whether it will ever be possible to raise psychology to a science. The same reasons which have led to confusion and sectarianism in religion would seem to account for the incessant confusion and rivalry that has prevailed among the hostile schools of metaphysicians. A few of the laws of association and the modern theories of vision and touch are the only principles in the science of mind which have been incontestably established. The consequence is that progress in mental science has not by any means kept pace with the progress of physical science. It is, therefore, open to doubt whether the rival factions which have so long been at war will succeed in solving those great problems which the history of the human mind presents.

If Locke's psychological theses were striking and valuable contributions to the science of mind, his contributions to the cause of freedom, government, and education were more valuable and enduring. In the departments of civil government, political economy, and finance his opinions were new and invaluable. His ideas on the relations of capital

to labor, his arguments on the value of money and on the liberty of the press, are all steps on the great road which has since been trodden by Adam Smith and his successors. Indeed, Locke may be regarded as one of the founders of the Bank of England. His services to the cause of education are hardly less important. His views on the vexed questions of the classics—the “indigestible Latin and Greek”—embody the opinions of the first critics in our own day. Locke's essays on Toleration and Christianity were the most enlightened productions of the day, and did much to efface the sectarian dogmas which had for a long period convulsed the English mind. He never lost sight of the inspiration of Scripture, which he accepted with a simple faith that might have rebuked the generation of sceptics and deists who built their infidelity on his doctrines, and numbered among their teachers such names as Collins and Hume, Condillac and Voltaire. He was unaffected by the prejudices of his time, laboring always more for posterity than for popularity.

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4. — *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D. D., Dean of Westminster, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Third Series. From the Captivity to the Christian Era. With two Maps. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1876. 8vo. pp. xxxvi, 549.

SOME men owe their reputation to their books; some books owe their reputation to their authors. We doubt whether Dean Stanley's published works would of themselves have designated him as among the foremost minds of the age. Yet one of their chief merits is their subjectiveness, their authenticity as records of self-revelation. Not that there is in them the slightest vestige of egotism. He is one of the most modest of men, refrains from self-assertion, makes no *ex cathedra* deliverances, and merges himself in his theme. But his personality is so intense as to endue all that he writes with his own distinguishing traits, and these traits are such as to win the loving sympathy of his readers. He is always fearlessly honest. No tradition, no inferior type of loyalty, no conventional standard of orthodoxy, ever leads him to conceal or even to modify an opinion or a sentiment. He seeks and loves the truth alone; and so enamored is he with his peculiar views of truth, that he sees them indicated by the faintest signs, confirmed by the most fragmentary evidences, and reflected from regions of thought or experience, however remote. He has the most catholic sympathy with humanity in all its forms, a quick and keen vision for whatever in man betokens good or the capacity of good, an invincible reluctance to believe